/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Qas	about 300 persons
Dawis	" 150 "
Stampriet	" 250 "
Rooigrauwater	" 50 "
Korikas	" 150 "
Olifantskloof	" 200 "
Habakobis	" 100 "
Rietfontein	" 200 "
Tjumda	" 100 "
Go	" 150 "
Sidonitzaub	"1,000 "
Karasburg	" 100 "
Epukiro	" 100 "
Ganab	" 100 "
Gam	" 100 "
Total	about 3,000 persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words, 165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since ● 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

648 It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

144 No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

● 161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

●161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101
131 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

101 During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 [31] The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kûng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ĕin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ĕin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ĕin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

169 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[37] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty
[16] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in **ǂkasha** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǂkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǂkau ǂen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǂkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsi* grows. *Tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsi* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsi* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951. • [161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had [161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

[121] Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to 121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

• 161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

• 161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

164 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

161 the Tobias estimate is retained. The estimates for other
127 countries (Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa) are informed guesses.

The national totals and the sources of information are:

Bechuanaland	24,600	Schapera, 1952; Silberbauer, 1965; Silberbauer, personal communication; Kuper, personal communication; author's field census.
South West Africa	15,000[1]	Republic of South Africa, 1964; Macintyre, personal communication.
Angola	4,000	Tobias, 1956,1957,1964, personal communication.
Republic of South Africa	100	Author's estimate.
Zambia	200	Author's estimate.
Rhodesia	200	Author's estimate.
TOTAL	44,100	

The distribution of these 44,100 Bushmen is illustrated in Map 2, p. 14.

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[1] The official 1960 census figure for Bushmen in S.W.A. is 11,762. The Odendaal Commissioners note in their report: "Statistical surveys of this group (the Bushmen) are made difficult by their nomadic way of life. According to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development these Bushmen number several thousands more" (Republic of South Africa, 1964:29, footnote 4). Since this view coincides with that of the author, the number of Bushmen in S.W.A. has been rounded out to 15,000.

MAP 2. The numbers and distribution of the Bushmen of Southern Africa, 1964.

○ represents 500 Bushmen.

● represents an isolate of less than 500 Bushmen.

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life. (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

131 [133] :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets the South West Africa border track. Along this route from 131 312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu, !angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and :tbai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu cattle posts. Following the border track north from its intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu. [133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over one hundred Bushmen.

131 361 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 312 [161] Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one [563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu, eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

:Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,

[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,

3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,

4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and

[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise

[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
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October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 Similar variations in group structure were observed at
312 all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of
[22] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen
• 161 divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes
162 ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
• 161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
162

No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL T
1.	Dobe(B)	n/eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	/qma//qwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau/dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!qausa(B)	n/isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	/oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	/omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurumehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have
184 apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

● 161 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

their numbers. To this must be added the fact that observers do not always clearly discriminate them from the Hottentots. Of the various estimates previously made, the majority go back some fifteen or twenty years, and offer little safe guidance to present conditions. The only area for which fairly reliable figures of recent date are available is South-West Africa, where in 1926 there were officially stated to be 3,600 Bushmen.[1] This figure would therefore include the Auen, Heikum, most of the Kung, a few of the Naron, the /nu//en, and other small tribes on the south-eastern border, and the remnants of the Namib Bushmen. Adopting it as a rough guide, one may safely assume that all the other Bushmen still found in Angola, the Kalahari desert, and the western districts of Southern Rhodesia, together with the few individuals in other parts, will be at least as numerous, especially when it is remembered that the Kalahari is the centre of the region now occupied by the Bushmen. We may therefore place the total number of Bushmen still in existence at a conservative minimum of about 7,000 to 7,500. Any more accurate estimate is impossible with the data at our disposal. The Bushmen may be far more numerous, but there is no ready means of ascertaining this. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, judging from even the limited data available, that they can be much fewer.

That formerly they were certainly far more numerous is unquestionable. The fact that they are now almost completely extinct in many parts where at one time they were found in large numbers is sufficient testimony to the great decrease they have suffered. This is especially noticeable in the Cape, where, as already mentioned, they were forcibly exterminated at the hands of successive invaders. In the case of the European settlers alone we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer than 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.[2] Since these by no means represent the total Bushman population of the Cape at that time, there is little reason to regard Fritsch's minimum estimate of 10,000 for the number of Bushmen

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for* 1926 (Union of S. Africa Parliamentary Bluebook, U.G. 22, 1927), p. 28.
[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i, 1910, pp. 18–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37])

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

38) Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660).

38a) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."